

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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R 151241Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2983

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 1029

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, HU, RO, UR

SUBJ: HUNGARIAN ATTACKS ON NATIONALIST COMMUNISTS

REF: (A) STATE 90804, (B) BUDAPEST 829

1. SUMMARY: HUNGARIAN PARTY OFFICIALS HAVE RECENTLY STEPPED UP IDEOLOGICAL PRESSURE ON THOSE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ATTEMPTING TO PURSUE MORE INDEPENDENT NATIONALISTIC FOREIGN POLICIES. BUCHAREST IS MOST OBVIOUS TARGET. ROMANIAN DIPLOMATS HERE HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THEY ARE AT LEAST ONE TARGET OF CAMPAIGN. THEY INSIST, HOWEVER, THAT THIS STEMS IN PART FROM HUNGARIAN NEED TO DEMONSTRATE GREATER LOYALTY TO SOVIETS DURING PERIOD OF SOME ECONOMIC UNCERTAINTY. BECAUSE OF LONG-STANDING HUNGARIAN DISLIKE FOR ROMANIANS, OFFICIALS HERE ARE PROBABLY NOT LOSING MUCH SLEEP OVER BUCHAREST BEING
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TARGET OF LATEST CAMPAIGN. WE BELIEVE THAT ATTACKS AGAINST

INDEPENDENT POLICIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ALSO REFLECT COORDINATED WP EFFORTS TO DEFEND AGAINST CORROSIVE EFFECTS OF DETENTE AND WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH HUNGARY'S FAITHFUL ADHERENCE TO SOVIET LEAD ON IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. IN ARTICLE APRIL 4 COMMEMORATING 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF "LIBERATION" OF HUNGARY, FONMIN PUJA STATED THAT "COUNTRY'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM CANNOT BE LASTING UNLESS ITS FOREIGN POLICY IS IN LINE WITH COMMUNITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND THAT OF SOVIET UNION". HE ADDED THAT SOCIALIST LEADERS, WHEN THEY FAIL TO TAKE THIS INTO ACCOUNT, ISOLATE THEMSELVES FROM SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND ENDANGER CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM. ALTHOUGH PUJA MENTIONED COMMUNIST CHINA AS BEST EXAMPLE OF THIS FAILURE, OBSERVERS HERE INTERPRET HIS COMMENTS AS AN ATTACK ALSO ON ROMANIA. PUJA'S MAGYAR HIRLAP ARTICLE HAD APPEARED EARLIER IN SOVIET JOURNAL MEDZUNARODNAJA ZHIZN.

3. SAME THEME SOUNDED EARLIER IN SPEECH BY POLITBURO MEMBER DEZSO NEMES BEFORE 11TH HSWP CONGRESS (REF B). ALSO RESOLUTIONS OF PARTY CONGRESS CALLING FOR TIGHTENING OF RANKS OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND ATTACKING "ANY FORM OF OPPORTUNISM WHICH DAMAGES UNITY OF SISTER PARTIES" REFLECT SAME THESIS. PARTY DOCUMENT REJECTS "CHAUVINIST, NATIONALISTIC, AND ANTI-SOVIET VIEWS WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY DANGEROUS TO UNITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT".

4. ROMANIAN DIPLOMATS HERE RELUCTANTLY ADMIT THAT BUCHAREST IS TARGET OF ATTACKS. THEY VIGOROUSLY DRFEND NATIONALISM AS NECESSARY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THEIR COUNTRY. ONE ROMANIAN EMBASSY OFFICER SAYS HUNGARIAN CAMPAIGN IS ONLY MANIFESTATION OF GREAT POWER CHAUVINISM OF SOVIETS. CLAIMS THAT IF HUNGARY HAD ROMANIA'S RAW MATERIALS AND "MILITARY INDEPENDENCE", IT WOULD BE EVEN MORE NATIONALISTIC THAN ROMANIA IS NOW. ANOTHER ROMANIAN EMBASSY OFFICER ARGUES THAT HUNGARY'S PRESENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES HAVE

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INCREASED ITS RELIANCE ON SOVIET "ASSISTANCE". THEREFORE, HE SAYS, GOH HAS GREATER NEED THAN EVER TO DEMONSTRATE UNDYING LOYALTY TO SOVIETS. BOTH ROMANIAN OFFICERS POINT TO MARKED INCREASE IN PRAISE OF SOVIETS NOTICEABLE DURING PARTY CONGRESS AND 30TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS AS INDICATION OF HUNGARY'S RECOGNITION OF THAT VULNERABILITY. ROMANIANS SAY THAT NEMES RECEIVED BUCHAREST'S DELEGATES TO PARTY CONGRESS SHORTLY AFTER DELIVERING HIS SPEECH,

BUT THAT BOTH SIDES DELICATELY SIDESTEPED ANY MENTION
OF HIS REMARKS.

5. MARCH 6 COMMUNIQUE OF MEETING OF COMPARTY SECRETARIES
OF WP COUNTRIES IN PRAGUE UNDERSCORED CORROSIVE EFFECTS
OF DETENTE ON COMMUNIST DISCIPLINE AND CALLED FOR
MEASURES TO BE TAKEN TO KEEP COMMUNIST GUARD UP.
PRESUMABLY COMMUNIQUE REFLECTS SOVIET VIEW THAT COORDINATED
POLICY ON IDEOLOGY, CULTURE, AND PARTY DISCIPLINE IS
ESSENTIAL AS CONTACTS WITH WEST INCREASE. HUNGARY,
FOLLOWING LEAD FROM MOSCOW, DRAWS A SHARP LINE BETWEEN
PEACEFUL AND IDEOLOGICAL COEXISTENCE AND TAKES VIEW THAT
IN LATTER AREA STRUGGLE BETWEEN CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES CONTINUES, A PERFECTLY ORTHODOX VIEW. THUS,
OVER LAST FEW WEEKS THERE HAS BEEN SOME INCREASE IN
IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT IN PRESS COMMENTARIES IN CULTURAL,
ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL SPHERES.

6. IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE CONSISTENT WITH HUNGARY'S
PAST PERFORMANCE TO FOLLOW FAITHFULLY SOVIET LEAD ON
IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES. IT WOULD ALSO BE CONSONANT WITH
ITS WELL-KNOWN ANTIPATHY FOR EVERYTHING ROMANIAN FOR
HUNGARY TO BE IN VANGUARD IN ASSAULT ON IDEOLOGICAL
UNORTHODOXY AND UNABASHED EMPHASIS ON NATIONAL
INDEPENDENCE.

7. WE HAVE HAD SOME INDICATION OF YUGOSLAV CONCERN
OVER CALL FOR NEW "IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE" THAT CP
SECRETARIES ADVANCED LAST MONTH IN PRAGUE. YUGOSLAVS
SAY THEY HAVE NOTHING AS SUCH AGAINST
STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY DURING DETENTE
BUT BELIEVE THAT ON THIS ISSUE IT IS PREROGATIVE
OF EACH PARTY TO DECIDE ON HOW TO HANDLE IT. THEY FEAR
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NET RESULT OF SOVIET "OFFENSIVE" WILL BE AN EFFORT TO
RE-ESTABLISH COMINFORM WITH INSTRUCTIONS EMANATING
FROM ONE CENTER AND WITH ALL CP'S EXPECTED TO FALL INTO
LINE. PRESUMABLY, ROMANIANS ARE EQUALLY CONCERNED ABOUT
SUCH ATTEMPTS TO ENCROACH UPON THEIR IDEOLOGICAL PRESERVE
AND HENCE UPON THEIR INDEPENDENCE.
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